

THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER;

UNDER THE SANCTION OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

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This day is published, price 1s. 6d.,

Dedicated by permission to the Venerable THOMAS CLARKSON, Esq.

SLAVERY IN AMERICA shown to be peculiarly abominable, both as a political anomaly and an outrage on Christianity. By WILLIAM DAY, formerly editor of the *Christian's Friend* and *Jersey Argus*.

London: HAMILTON, ADAMS, and Co., Paternoster-row; and T. BALLE, 247, High-street, Exeter.

A T a MEETING of the BIRMINGHAM BRITISH and FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY COMMITTEE, held at the office of WILLIAM MORGAN, June 16th, 1841.

THOMAS BEILBY, Esq., Magistrate, in the chair.

Resolved unanimously,

That this committee, hearing that upwards of one million of British subjects are still in a state of slavery in British India, would earnestly urge upon all abolitionists throughout the United Kingdom, and upon every elector, the great importance of pressing upon Candidates for a seat in Parliament who may solicit their suffrages, the duty of voting for the immediate and entire abolition of slavery in British India, and in the several dependencies of the crown in the East.

THOMAS BEILBY, Chairman.

SLAVERY IN BRITISH INDIA, AND THE PRESENT ELECTION.

THE attention of the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society has been directed to the importance of turning the present parliamentary election to account, in relation to the highly important subject of slavery in British India. On the 11th instant a meeting was held, at which the following resolution was unanimously adopted:—

“That, in the judgment of this committee, the question of Slavery in British India, involving as it does the personal liberty and civil rights of upwards of ONE MILLION of human beings, the subjects of this realm, imperatively demands the attention of Abolitionists throughout the United Kingdom, in view of the anticipated general election and the return of representatives to the next parliament; they would, therefore, earnestly urge upon abolitionists, and the constituencies in general, the great importance of pressing upon those candidates who may solicit their suffrages the duty of voting, in the event of their return to parliament, for the immediate and entire abolition of slavery (however modified or sanctioned) in British India, and in the several dependencies of the crown in the East in which it at present exists, whenever the question shall be brought before the house of commons: and of thus delivering their country from the guilt and dishonour of sustaining a system of degradation and oppression in the East, which has been happily terminated in the West Indies.”

Copies of this resolution have been forwarded to their friends generally throughout the country, with a request that the committee may be furnished with the names of such candidates as may give assurances of support.

In addition to this measure, the committee have issued the following address to the electors of the United Kingdom.

“ELECTORS

“Slavery still exists within the British Dominions—exists to an almost incredible extent, as to the number of its victims, and the horrors of its oppression.

“In British India, under the protection of the Crown of England, millions of our fellow-creatures—our fellow-subjects—are held, under different forms, in a state of abject slavery!!

“Slavery under any form is an evil of tremendous magnitude. It is to deprive human beings, male or female, of that liberty

which is their birthright; to reduce them to a chattel, and the level of a beast; it is to place irresponsible power in the hands of a petty tyrant, who may use it upon his victim according as he is impelled by cruelty, avarice, anger, or lust. Such is its character, and such at this very time are its effects in British India, under the various forms of domestic or field slaves, eunuchs, concubines, dancing girls (kept for purposes of prostitution, the lawless gains of which come into the hands of their masters). Slavery, sustained in its numbers by kidnapping, breeding, by home produce, or foreign importation from Abyssinia, Africa, Arabia, and other parts of the world, exists to the extent which has been stated in our dominions in the East.

“Your voice has been once heard, saying, ‘Africa, be free;’ let it once more be heard for the oppressed children of the East. In the British senate must your demands be preferred, and the sentence be pronounced. In the approaching appeal for your votes, give them to no candidate who will not pledge himself to the steady uncompromising support of a measure, for the total and unqualified abolition of slavery—abolition as great and perfect as that which has been effected in the West.

“FRIENDS OF HUMANITY—

“You have not the same difficulties to encounter as in the former case. No money will be drained from the exhausted exchequer of our country. Slavery is not an essential part of the system of Indian caste. There is no law, Hindoo or Mohammedan, that requires its perpetuation. Your united efforts must be crowned with success.

“Signed on behalf of the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society,

“J. H. TREDGOLD, Secretary.

“27, New Broad-street, June 22, 1841.”

ANSWERS FROM PARLIAMENTARY CANDIDATES.

The Albany, June 23, 1841.

DEAR SIR,—I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, containing an interesting extract upon the subject of slavery in British India, accompanied with a pamphlet upon the same subject. I cordially concur in the views taken by you in reference to this important question; and, as far as my vote is concerned, you may be assured of its being, as I trust it always has been, in favour of the extinction of slavery wherever it is to be met with. I sincerely hope that a bill of the description you name may be introduced; and, if it is, it shall have my support.

I think this time we shall have no contest; but I equally feel it to be my duty to give you a cordial answer to the question you have been good enough to propound to me, and to thank you for the documents by which it is accompanied, and which I shall make a point of reading when I have a little more leisure than I have at this moment.

I remain, dear Sir, your's faithfully,

Joseph Soul, Esq.

THOMAS S. DUNCOMBE.

35, Bedford Square, June 26, 1841.

SIR,—Mr. Wakley requests me to acknowledge for him the receipt of your letter and the pamphlet; and to say that, a multitude of engagements having pressed upon him during this week, he was not before able to reply to your question. He now begs me to say, that if such a bill as you have named be brought into the house of commons during the next session of parliament, and Mr. Wakley occupies a seat in the house at the time, it shall receive his warm and zealous support through the whole of its stages.

I have the honour to be, Sir, your very obedient servant,

Joseph Soul, Esq.

GEORGE J. MILLS.

Mark Lane, June 26th, 1841.

MY DEAR SIR,—I hope I need not tell you that I am an opponent of all slavery. That existing in the East Indies it will be my duty, as it is my disposition, to make myself acquainted with, and to do all in my power to abolish.

I remain, my dear Sir, your's very truly,

B. WOOD.

To HENRY STERRY, Esq.

Mr. Humphery presents his compliments to Mr. Henry Sterry, and begs, in acknowledging his letter of this day's date, to assure him of his uncompromising hostility to slavery, wherever or in whatever form it may be found.

His parliamentary influence (should he be again returned) may therefore be relied upon, in support of every measure tending to promote its abolition.

Hay's Wharf, June 26th, 1841.

DEATH OF SIR JOHN JEREMIE.

THE friends of humanity throughout the world will hear with the deepest regret of the death of Sir John Jeremie, the recently appointed governor of Sierra Leone. A private letter, dated the 27th of April, brings the intelligence that he died on the 23rd of that month, of a Port Loco fever, after an illness of twenty-one days. The colony, says the writer of this letter, is "plunged into the deepest distress" by this melancholy event; and all friends of the cause of humanity will feel that it has lost much, in the sudden termination of the career of this distinguished person. Had his life been spared, his intelligence, benevolence, and firmness might have done much for Africa; it is now only added to the number which have been sacrificed on the altar of Africa's welfare. We are thus called anew to bow to the inscrutable pleasure of the Disposer of all events, who, we doubt not, has mercy in store for that desolated country, but who will accomplish his purposes in his own way.

We hope in an early number to furnish some account of the useful and honourable course which our late valued friend, with eminent consistency, pursued.

ANTI-SLAVERY SENTIMENT IN BRAZIL.

WE have been favoured with the following interesting information on this subject, which may be fully relied on. Our informant commences with an account of distinguished persons in Brazil who are adverse to slavery.

Antonio Perreira Franga, deputy for Bahia, after repeatedly urging in the strongest manner the abolition of slavery, proposed in 1835, that all slaves who had been born in Brazil should be emancipated; and this motion was seconded by Senhor Martin Francisco de Andrada, lately minister of finance, and supported by several other members. Senhor Antonio Carlos de Andrada, the late premier, spoke repeatedly against the system of slavery; contending that it was impossible that Brazil could prosper while one race oppressed the other, and stigmatizing slavery as the plague-spot of Brazil.

Senhor Hollanda Cavalcanti, late minister of marine and senator, steadily declared himself the enemy of slavery, and lately discharged all slaves from the arsenals of the empire. On his own plantations he employs exclusively free-labour. Senhor Aurdiano de Souza Oliveira, lately minister of foreign affairs, when minister of justice in 1832, took the strongest measures to prevent the slave-trade; as did also his Excellency Senhor Montezuma, now ambassador to this court. While minister of justice and of foreign affairs, in 1837, he declared himself most strongly against the slave-trade, and established a severe scrutiny of the vessels which came from Africa.

His Excellency Senhor de Oliveira, at various times minister of finance and of foreign affairs, and now ambassador to the court of St. Petersburg, was so much opposed to the slave-trade, that he withdrew the acknowledgment of the Portuguese chargé d'affaires, because that functionary connived at the traffic by the facility with which he granted passports to Portuguese vessels well known to be engaged in it.

The following works are published against the slave-trade by Brazilians, and publicly sold at Rio de Janeiro:—

Senhor Bonifacio de Andrada, minister at various times, and tutor and guardian to the present Emperor when a minor, published a plan for emancipation, substituting immigrant white labour in lieu of that of imported slaves.

Major Burlamaque, of the Engineers, and professor of the military academy at Rio, published, in 1839, a work deprecating slavery and the slave-trade in the strongest terms, which work is reported by men capable of judging of its merits to be full of practical hints, and to display much research.

Two memorials against slavery, published in the journals of the historical and geographical institute of Brazil, the one by Senhor Joze Silvestre Pabello, formerly chargé d'affaires in Washington; and the other by the Rev. Januario da Cunha Barboza, canon of the cathedral of Rio de Janeiro, and principal librarian and chronologist of the empire. These works are the fruits of much experience and research.

The laws for the emancipation of the slaves, either by their own exertions or those of others, are highly favourable; and it is so popular a measure, that benefits have been given at the theatres of Rio de Janeiro for the purpose of ransoming slaves.

The Freemasons' grand lodge at Rio, of which most of the influential statesmen and proprietors are members, on the anniversary of St. John's day manumit a certain number of slaves by purchase.

By the law passed against the slave-trade on the 7th of November, 1833, it was declared that all Africans landed in Brazil after that period should be free. The number of negros now in Brazil who have been clandestinely introduced subsequently, must amount at the lowest computation to 300,000!

At the breaking out of the revolutions in Bahia and Rio Grande, the latter of which is not yet quelled, the slaves were all declared free; by which a most powerful body (physically speaking) were ranged under the banners of the malcontents, and an impressive lesson taught to those in authority, which it is to be hoped they will not be too blind to learn.

THE COFFEE CROPS.—The coffee crops in both Indies are abundant. In British Guiana the expected supply is double that of last year.

ABOLITION IN FRANCE.

[From *Le Siècle*.]

At the annual meeting of the British and Foreign Society, founded in London for the abolition of slavery, held at Exeter Hall on the 14th May, 1841, the venerable William Allen in the chair, Daniel O'Connell, member of parliament, proposed the following resolution, which was seconded by Mr. Charles Remond, of the United States, and unanimously adopted. "This meeting view with the most lively interest the proceedings of the government and people of France, with regard to the abolition of slavery in her different colonies; it cherishes the hope that no measure will be adopted on this subject, other than one of complete and unconditional emancipation; and that the prompt and just adoption of this desirable plan will be to the honour of that great nation, and will be an example to other people, which it will be their duty to imitate."

This resolution has been brought to Paris by Messrs. J. J. Gurney and Josiah Forster, who have had the honour of being received by the king and his ministers. These men, justly respected in their country for their virtues, and for the sacrifices which they have made for twenty years in this noble cause, have convened in Paris a special meeting, composed of peers of France, deputies, and distinguished citizens of all classes, to whom they addressed a religious discourse. Mr. Joseph John Gurney, one of the two, related, in the most lively and touching terms, the facts which he had lately observed in a journey, completed in 1840, in the United States, and in the Danish and British isles. In the United States there exists an internal slave trade, in which the offspring of the negros are sold, like the beasts in our departments. In the southern states, the number of victims consigned annually to this infamous traffic is about 60,000; and it frequently happens that the father and the mother, the daughters and the other children, are sold to masters of different states. Slavery being maintained only by force, it gives birth to hardships and barbarities which it is impossible to repress.

In the Danish islands the traveller remarked that, in spite of the ordinances of the monarchs of Denmark recently published, the practice laid open the most complete degradation of human kind. In St. Thomas' they openly sell all those who are saleable. The English islands, where emancipation has been accomplished, have every reason to anticipate prosperity: he cited Tortola, Antigua, and Dominica. In Jamaica things were not so happy; but then they retained there what they desired to perpetuate—slavery under another name—by raising rent in order to coerce labour. Nevertheless, the year 1842 promises an augmentation of one-fifth in the produce, in consequence of a better understanding between the former masters and the enfranchised negros.

Mr. Gurney furnished numerous proofs that everywhere, where there has been a good understanding between the proprietors and the free labourers, there was a certainty of continuous labour; that labour was cheaper by more than one-third; that the value of property is everywhere increased; that the moral progress of the negros is immense, and rejoices the hearts of all the friends of religion and humanity.

In Dominica, formerly a French colony and in the same state as the colonies in our Antilles, the progress is as great as in Antigua; the blacks of Guadeloupe and Martinique who have taken refuge there, far from living in misery and desiring to re-assume their chains (Mr. Gurney has seen them), conduct themselves admirably, and are very happy.

He is convinced that there is no intermediate point between slavery and freedom, because, in a mixed state, the results of moral and religious instruction are null. Experience has every where demonstrated this fact.

M. François Delessert, in the name of the meeting, returned thanks to these noble and estimable strangers, from whom conviction had passed into the minds of all the audience, and he expressed the hope that France would very soon, by a wise and prudent law, resolve this important question of liberty and civilization.

ANOTHER ACCOUNT.

A large and distinguished assemblage, among whom were General Coletti, the Greek Ambassador, Count Gasparin, M. Geoffroi, of the Institute, M. Isambert, and M. F. Delessert, met on Wednesday evening, at the hotel Meurice, to listen to the philanthropic expositions and arguments of Messrs. Forster, J. J. and Samuel Gurney, members of the London Society for the abolition of slavery, against that inhuman system. The business of the evening was opened by Mr. Forster, who briefly explained the great object of the society, and the beneficial results it has produced during the sixty years it has existed. Mr. J. J. Gurney then took a general view of the state of slavery in America and the West Indies, proving by facts collected by himself, during his recent travels in those countries, the salutary effects of the emancipation of the negros in the British colonies; and, by detailing the present flourishing condition of the island of Antigua, he showed that the abolition might have been effected without previous apprenticeship, and even without any indemnity to the slave-owners. During his address, Mr. J. J. Gurney was repeatedly interrupted by loud plaudits. Mr. Samuel Gurney depicted the frightful state of the slaves in the island of Cuba and other colonies, and demonstrated the necessity for France to follow the example of England in abolishing slavery in her settlements. M. François Delessert returned thanks to the three philanthropists, expressing a hope that France may soon be induced to fol-

low in the footsteps of England, and take a decisive part in these measures so greatly in the interest of morality and humanity. The assembly separated at eleven o'clock, full of admiration for the three members of the Society of Friends, who have devoted a large portion of their lives and fortunes to promote so sacred a cause. These gentlemen had been on Tuesday evening presented at the *soirée* of M. Guizot, where they received from the minister and many eminent men numerous marks of interest and esteem. —*Galignani*.

SIERRA LEONE: EMIGRATION.

THE efforts of the West Indians to recruit for immigrants at this colony are thus detailed by Mr. Barclay, the agent for Jamaica, in a letter which appears in the *Morning Journal* of May 12, and is dated Sierra Leone, April 5.

"We arrived here on the 16th March; and I am glad to say all are well on board the Hector. I have been kept in a regular bustle every day 'palavering,' with crowds of people, taking down their names, and posting them in the secretary's office; which causes sad delay and trouble, as they can do nothing for themselves. Another serious difficulty presents itself in procuring the requisite proportion of females, from the great preponderance of the other sex. What number I shall be able to take with me it is impossible yet to say. Between Maroons and liberated Africans, I have more on my list than the ship can carry; but I have great doubts how far the latter (by far the most important class) are to be depended upon when the hour of embarkation arrives. We propose to sail on the 20th instant (April), and hope to arrive about the 25th of next month (May).

"The Trinidad ship reached here on the same day with us; and yesterday a large ship, the Superior, anchored alongside of us from Demerara—too many at one time.

"The mass of population here is much too large for the limited means of employment which the colony affords. They are generally fine healthy-looking young people; and, beyond all manner of doubt, the removal of a part of them to the fertile islands of the west will be of mutual advantage to them and to us. This I have no doubt they will find out, although in the first instance they are naturally enough shy of moving. To overcome this feeling, and inspire them with confidence, much will depend upon judicious arrangements; in which, of course, I shall do the best that I am able for our good old island."

THE UNITED STATES AND THE SLAVE-TRADE.

THE President's speech contains the following reference to the African slave-trade:—

"I shall also, at the proper season, invite your attention to the statutory enactments for the suppression of the slave-trade, which may require to be rendered more efficient in their provisions. There is reason to believe that the traffic is on the increase. Whether such increase is to be ascribed to the abolition of slave-labour in the British possessions in our vicinity, and an attendant diminution in the supply of those articles which enter into the general consumption of the world, thereby augmenting the demand from other quarters, and thus calling for additional labour, it were needless to inquire. The highest considerations of public honour, as well as the strongest promptings of humanity, require a resort to the most vigorous efforts to suppress the trade."

The *Salem Register* complains loudly of British interference with American vessels, suspected of being engaged in this inhuman traffic.

The ship *Seamew*, taken by the British cruisers on the coast of Africa some months ago, under the pretext of her being engaged in the slave-trade, arrived at this port on Tuesday. The *Seamew* is owned by Mr. Robert Brookhouse. She was seized at Ambriz, on the south-west coast of Africa, by her Britannic Majesty's brig *Persian*, all her crew taken out, leaving on board only the captain, mate, and cook, and ordered to Sierra Leone in charge of a British lieutenant and prize crew. On her arrival at Sierra Leone, Captain Briant was kept a prisoner on board, and not allowed to go on shore, nor hold any communication with any person from the shore. All his papers, including even his family letters, were likewise taken possession of. The court of commissioners established at Sierra Leone for the purpose of trying vessels concerned in the slave-trade, finding that there was no cause for suspicion, refused to have anything to do with the *Seamew*, and she was taken thence to St. Helena, where she was given up to Captain Briant. The detention of the *Seamew*, from the time she was seized until she returned to the same port, was about four months. During this period, both vessel and cargo were shamefully neglected, very much to the injury of both. At St. Helena, Captain Briant was obliged to ship a new crew to enable him to prosecute his voyage. The original crew, having been taken from the vessel when first seized, were afterwards transported to St. Helena, and there released and left to shift for themselves. All but two of them have, in one way or another, reached home, and the owners are obliged to pay the wages of all until they return. We forbear to comment on these outrages at present, as we learn that a suitable representation of the *Tigris* case has been laid before the government, and, as soon as the proper papers can be prepared, the case of the *Seamew* will be represented. We have full confidence that ample reparation will be demanded for these aggravated offences. We learn that the *barque Jones* (likewise a prize, it will be remembered) had sailed several times from the coast after being given up, but was obliged to put back in consequence of leaks, &c., the effects of the climate and neglect of the prize officers, and it was feared they would be obliged to condemn her. We are also informed, that, in the case of the *Tigris*, the evidence was so shallow, that the grand jury found not the least pretence for bringing in a bill against the officers, and both they and the vessel were discharged. Nevertheless,

the United States are obliged to pay to the British prize-master mileage, at the rate of 8 cents a mile, for the distance from Africa to the United States, and from the United States to England, say 7000 or 8000 miles, and also one dollar-and-a-quarter per day for witness fees. A fine speculation this suppression of the slave trade!

COAST OF AFRICA, AND THE WEST AFRICAN COMPANY.

EXTRACT from a letter dated Fernando Po, March 19th 1841.

On my passage I have learned a few particulars respecting the notorious Pedro Blanco, from a ship captain who had been in the African trade, and had visited frequently the slave factory of this man. His house is situated on an island at the mouth of the river Gallinas, and is supplied with the luxuries of Europe. In going from the factory to the residence, the way strangers are taken is through a labyrinth of creeks, making its distance appear much greater from the sea than it really is. The house is large, airy, and commodious, and is surrounded by other buildings, occupied by females. He has the character of being hospitable and kind, even to the officers of the men-of-war placed to guard the coast, and to put an end to his lucrative traffic. He sometimes purchases the whole of a ship's cargo, and has had goods consigned to him to the amount of £30,000. His bills are always considered good in the estimation of the traders, and he gets the character of giving without scruple a good price for the goods he purchases. He spoke of giving up his factory, and returning to Europe, on account of his losses; but at this his factors smiled, saying afterwards that Pedro had now been talking in this way for many years, and they did not think he meant to move yet.

Many slaves were in the barracoons. When these were allowed to go out to wash themselves, they were strongly guarded by a factor and some kroomen; the factor with two brace of pistols and a naked sword, the kroomen with cutlasses. The men are in irons, and are let out in very small parties. With the women they are not so particular. Another large slave factor here is named Francisco. His slaves rose a short time before this captain visited the place, and four or five of them were killed before Francisco, and his dogs and servants, were able to overcome them. In consequence they were in very heavy irons, and had not then the small portion of liberty they had previously enjoyed.

At Grand Cestos I heard of another slave factory, and of the successful shipment of a cargo of slaves, which had taken place a few days or weeks before we reached Cape Palmas. This information I had from Captain Harper, of the schooner *Gil Blas*, on the 10th of December, 1840. At Cape Coast, I learnt from Captain Tucker, of the *Wolverine*, that his boats had been fired into in the Brass River, by the natives who favour the slave trade; and that the feeling against the British was bad wherever this nefarious traffic had in former days been carried on. At Coriso Bay a slave factory was broken up by this vessel, and the buildings blown to the ground.

At Bimbia I saw a Portuguese slave collector, and was informed by Captain Becroft, of the steamer *Ethiopia*, that he belonged to the factory in Coriso-Bay, just destroyed. He came to me, and very anxiously inquired if I had heard of such a matter; he afterwards put the same inquiry to Captain Becroft, and obtained from him a decisive answer that such was the fact. This man shipped off a boat load of slaves from Bimbia, a little while ago for Prince's, but the boat was taken by a vigilant man of war. The boat in which myself and — sailed to Bimbia and Cameroons was once employed in the same work, the transporting of slaves from the main land to the island of Prince's.

The sort of liberty enjoyed in Africa is in general a description of slavery. Even the kroomen (which term, as commonly understood, comprehends the natives nearly along the whole line of the Grain coast) are in a sort of slavery, to chiefs, and kings, and tradesmen. The account given is, that their parents send them in from the country, to learn the art of trading with the whites; that they give them up to tradesmen, who cannot sell them to slave-ships, but dispose of them to English captains for so many handkerchiefs, &c. The poor naked youths have nothing to say in the matter, but are marched forward; and, if supposed likely to attempt a swim to a canoe, are placed below, until distant from the country to which they belong. In this way nearly all the wood-cutters are got for the West African company. They did not come in chains, they came voluntarily; but they stood as people who had no part in the agreement. The tradesmen would bring six or eight, and bargain for cloth, &c., and get it, and go on shore as unfeelingly as possible, not supplying the poor boys left with a handkerchief to wrap about the loins. All of them had an old cloth of this sort, but no other covering, and no bed; nothing like what the nature of the voyage would seem to require. Our captain was a kind-hearted man, and the kroomen were very quiet. The idea that they were free, and that they should visit their native land again in two or three years, with plenty of cloth, guns, powder, &c., bore them up; yet many looked very sad, and some came to me frequently, and said, "we wont go;" "me go home;" "the country;" "Crads-town," &c. Several slipped into the sea from the fore chains, and escaped to land; and five left us at Cape Coast Castle. Eighty were brought safely to Fernando Po. On the second Saturday, two of these, and one who had been in the country before, were tied up before our windows, and flogged for running away. Other severe punishments have since occurred, but the floggings have been at another place; there the men were tied over a great

gun, on which they had punishment inflicted. Nearly all who came in the Godden Spring, are worked in the woods at timber cutting by day, two or three miles distant, and marched into the hospital, to be confined on a narrow cape by night. Here an artificial cut runs across, and men, with loaded guns and pistols and swords, are placed by a powder magazine and dungeon, but serve also to prevent the escape of these poor kroomen. The gentlemen of the West African Company, in St. Helen's Place, London, certainly do not know that as real a system of slavery is carried on by their agents here as can possibly exist; with this one exception, that the poor wretches have the hope of seeing an end to it. About eighty expect to get home this year, but several of these have been in bondage four or five years.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

Subscriptions and Donations to the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society may be forwarded to the Treasurer (G. W. Alexander, Esq.), at the Society's Office, 27, New Broad Street, London.

Communications for the Editor of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* also should be sent to the Office of the Society, as above.

Anti-Slavery Reporter.

LONDON, JUNE 30th.

We hope all our friends are alive to the importance of the present crisis, in relation to the abolition of slavery in our eastern possessions. The hope of British India hangs on the current election. It is now, and too probably *now only*, that the gentlemen who are to constitute the next House of Commons, will accept information, and promise to make themselves acquainted with this important subject. It is now that those who are favourable to the abolition of slavery in British India may be induced to make an explicit declaration of their principles, and to lay a foundation for confidence in the course they will pursue when the subject shall be brought forward. It will be seen by our columns to-day, that some answers of a most satisfactory kind have already been given; and we cannot doubt that many more, equally satisfactory, will follow. Only let electors be in earnest upon this matter, and make candidates feel that they are so, and preparation will be made for an effective blow at this gigantic evil in the first session of the new parliament. Of all answers, whether satisfactory or otherwise, it will be useful to send information to the office of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society.

There is the greater urgency in this case, because of the impulse which is now given to the agricultural industry of British India, in relation both to sugar and cotton. If these articles are to be cultivated by free-labour, it is necessary that the entire population should be free. If there are slaves in India, and agriculture becomes largely profitable, the slaves will be set to work with severity; and we shall have all the atrocities and miseries of the West Indies repeated in the East. To show that such an apprehension is not chimerical, we may mention, that, according to private accounts, the proposals made by the parties who are now endeavouring to extend the cultivation of cotton in India, are at so low a rate that the occupiers of land will not accept them. Under such circumstances it is but too probable that the labour of slaves may be resorted to; and that a new source of incalculable mischief may thus be opened unawares. The only security against this is, that EVERY SLAVE IN INDIA SHALL BE SET FREE.

The best news brought by the West India mail is, that the drought has been broken up by some copious rains. So far as we are concerned, the silence of the papers is the best news possible.

The following gratifying letter has been received from our friend and fellow-labourer, M. Isambert.

Paris, June 22, 1841.

SIR,—I have the pleasure of acquainting you, that, in its sitting of yesterday, the chamber of peers adopted, by a majority of 116 to 14, the project of law relative to the financial regulation of the slave colonies. This measure was attacked only by baron Charles Dupin, a salaried delegate of the colonial council of Martinique. He was answered by M. Barthe; who remarked that the colonial councils had voted to their delegates secret sums, by help of which they resisted the measures of the government. Admiral Duperré, minister of marine and the colonies, forcibly maintained that the law was necessary, because the colonial councils had abused the power which had been conferred upon them for the voting of imposts and local charges; and further because the government could not allow itself to be opposed in the great measure it was preparing for these colonies. He insisted particularly on this consideration. His speech was written, and had been deliberated on in council. We may be confident, therefore, that the present cabinet will present a law for emancipation in the next session, without further delay.

Accept the renewed assurance of my regard.

ISAMBERT,

Secretary of the French Abolition Society.

J. H. Tredgold, Esq., &c.

SLAVERY IN GUADELOUPE.

In a recent number of *Galignani's Messenger* we find the following account, fearfully, but too truly illustrative of the state of the slaves in the French colonies. The case shows a wholesome determination to prosecute on the part of the government: the murderer, however, escaped without difficulty, by flying from the island.

"The Court of Assizes at Point à Pitre, in the island of Guadeloupe, was engaged, on April 28th, in the trial of M. Manche, the overseer of the estate of Tesseron, for the murder of two negroes, named Firmin and Auguste, and wounding a third, named Jean Pierre. The following is a summary of the case, as given in evidence:—Some maroons, or runaway negroes, had for some time taken shelter in the woods of the commune of St. Rose, and lived by committing robberies and other depredations in the neighbourhood. Manche determined to get rid of them, by attacking them in their retreat. At four o'clock in the morning of September 7th, being armed with a double barrelled gun, and accompanied by three slaves belonging to the estate under his charge, he went out to accomplish his intent. Having met Alexis, the slave of Madame Poyen, who had run away from her, Manche seized and bound him with cords to one of his own negroes, and compelled the man to guide him to the retreat of the maroons. At a further distance he made a similar attempt upon Jean Pierre, a slave belonging to M. Kayser. This man refused to surrender, and took to flight, but was immediately wounded by a shot from Manche, and was secured and bound like the first prisoner. Manche then led on his party, and had not proceeded far before he descried Firmin, flying with his best speed; but, as the man would not stop on being called to, Manche discharged both his barrels, and killed him, and had his body immediately buried on the spot. This being done, the chase was renewed, and Auguste became the next victim of this sanguinary sport. Mondesire, another maroon, was in company with Auguste at the time, and became a witness against Manche, and his evidence was supported by Jean Pierre, the wounded maroon, whom, however, Manche had, by giving him five francs, endeavoured to bribe to silence. A partial admission of the fact by Manche himself, in a letter written by him to a brigadier of gendarmes, was produced in court. Manche had contrived to evade arrest, and therefore was tried in default of appearance. He was found guilty by the jury, and sentenced to close confinement, with hard labour, for ten years.

WEST INDIES.

THE operation of the new market for labour which freedom has created in the British West Indies is producing, as was from the first anticipated, effects of the happiest kind. Labourers who are free to move are at length courted to stay; and this by planters who have hitherto sought to attain their purpose, first by starving the peasantry, and next by violently obstructing emigration. The following extract from the *Barbados Mercury* is very significant in relation to this matter:—

"We beg in the most respectful though ingenuous terms, to refer to the long lists of names set up at the secretary's office of intending emigrants, which from time to time we have purposely published in our columns for their inspection. On Sunday last thirty-nine took their departure in the Peg-a-Ramsay and Carib; and (it is useless to dissemble) report says that numbers are awaiting the arrival of the Venezuela, to follow. The reason for so much dissatisfaction is openly declared everywhere, to be the scarcity and dearth of indigenous provisions, beyond the rates of wages which can be afforded.

"If it be urged against these reasons, that Demerara holds out no better prospect of plentiful and cheaper supplies of food, the reply is ready—'We may just as well run the risks attendant on our going to Demerara, and even suffer the severest privations in a strange country, as remain to be starved to work in our own.' Is there no remedy against a growing evil, the magnitude of which will ere long sweep off a population proverbially known to be sincerely attached to their native soil? As yet, we believe, the voyagers and locomotives have been principally of that class of operatives to be found in our penal gangs; who, for all their being worthless characters, have not lost their influence over their connexions and acquaintances, far and near, nor do they fail to exercise it. Planters of Barbados! look to the list of names; ask the churchwardens of your respective parishes how many certificates they have granted, and how many applicants are yet to be supplied. To our humble conception, and to most reflecting minds, they unfold a tale upon which at present we are reluctant to expatiate. We are not alarmists, neither do we desire to obtrude our opinions on the important subject of an obviously increasing emigration; but we cannot help repeating what we have so frequently written before, that there are strong indications of a required reform of the system of agriculture, and much need of unanimity in carrying that reform into operation. Locate our labourers by all possible and reasonable means, or Barbados in a short time must be afflicted with an immigration mania, equally deplorable with that which now distracts the 'magnificent province' of British Guiana."

THE BREMEN SLAVER.—The seizure of this vessel gives rise to a trial of a very interesting character. The question which arises is, whether the ship, although not engaged in the slave-trade, is not liable to condemnation under treaty, as conveying equipments for those which were.

ADDRESS OF THE NEW YORK STATE CONVENTION OF COLOURED CITIZENS TO THE PEOPLE OF THE STATE.

FELLOW CITIZENS.—The State Convention of coloured citizens, assembled in Albany, August 18th, 19th, and 20th, to consider their political condition in behalf of their people in this state, would respectfully address you on a subject to them of the most vital import. They would call your earnest and unprejudiced attention to the unjust and withering policy that, in 1821, led to the endorsing of an Anti-republican enactment (Art. II. sec. I. State Constitution), by which a portion of the citizens of this state were restricted in the exercise of a natural right, and refused an equal participation in its political arrangements; and they would also solemnly desire you to look around, and witness the multiplied evils that have for years weighed, and do now weigh heavily upon them, from not being allowed to use, on liberal and worthy terms, the all-important privilege of the elective franchise.

The patriotic framers of our State Constitution, in view of the then recent unwarrantableness of British jurisdiction, and pondering on the self-evident truths that had been made the solemn charter of their country's liberties, did, in 1777, (by suffrage and free choice appointed,) assemble in deliberative convention, and adopt such "acts and declarations as were calculated most efficiently to secure the rights and liberties of the good people of this state—most conducive to the happiness and safety of their constituents in particular, and of America in general; basing themselves upon the avowed principle of the democratic colonies, that taxation and representation should go together, and that governments receive their power from the consent of the governed—they established in the constitution, as a foundation guard to the plainest rights of the people, such provisions as were best designed to keep inviolate their undeniable prerogative to select their rulers—this being the first article of belief in their republican faith.

In so doing, they did not think it consistent with the principles they professed to divide freemen—those who had shared with them the dangers of war, who had ever been willing to aid them in achieving their independence—we say, they did not divide these, their fellow citizens, into caste, and in the face of justice, confer privileges on one class that were refused to another. Every freeman, according to article VII of this firstly adopted instrument, who paid taxes, and hired a tenement worth forty shillings a year, was entitled to exercise the common right of voting.

In 1821, in opposition to the intellect, the philanthropy, and consistent republicanism of many noble men, who dignifiedly stood up and contended against the unprovoked intolerance that urged forward the measure, an act was passed, which, while it protected liberally others in the exercise of the franchise, made it incumbent upon every coloured citizen to possess 250 dollars freehold estate, in order to use the before common privileges. This requirement, as we have before declared, resulted most disadvantageously to us.

We now find ourselves existing in the chief division of the government, with no marks of criminality attached to our names as a class; no spots of immorality staining our characters; no charges of disloyalty dishonouring our birthright; yet prevented (by an invidious complexional proscription) from being participants in those free-born rights and sympathies that are bountifully guaranteed, not only to the common humanity of this state, but also to foreigners, of whatever clime or language.

We find ourselves the subjects, and not the objects of legislation, because we are prevented from giving an assenting or opposing voice in the periodic appointments of those who rule us, and are made passive instruments of all laws, just or unjust, that may be enacted, to which we are bound to subscribe, even while we have no instrumentality either in their formation or adoption.

We find ourselves crippled and crushed in soul and ability, because, with all the longing that our spirits may possess to drink deeply of those pure waters that mentally and morally refresh and invigorate, we are thrust from the fountain with the cold treatment of aliens, having even that self-protecting instrument taken from us, which is the primary assurance and safeguard of citizenship.

We find ourselves shut out, by the secondary influence of a monied restriction, from a right which is the basis of a people's liberties and prosperity; and, by the withering influence of this, we are virtually and manifestly shut out from the obtaining of those resources of pecuniary and possessional emolument, which an unshackled citizenship does always ensure, and which very resources are held up before us as requirements for the use of a privilege, that, in accordance with the spirit of government, should be freest and most sacred.

This unequal participation in the privileges of the state we consider invidious and proscriptive. It proceeds from no principle of justice; it is not predicable either from the position or character of the people upon whom it so unequally operates. The causes which were supposed to justify its enactment, or warrant its continuance, have either no existence, or are equally applicable to a large body of respectable voters of the state.

What are we, as a people, in the state? What is our condition? What is the character we have? What the reputation we sustain? We are native born citizens of the state—immediate descendants of men held, not long since, as slaves. From this state we were translated into the partial enjoyment and limited possession of freedom, cut off from the sympathies of our fellow-citizens, almost abject in poverty, allowed in many places but a scanty and inadequate participation in the privileges of education, and deprived almost entirely of the elective franchise; we have, nevertheless, by the practical operation of common sense, by habits of industry, and the cultivation of the religious sentiments, been enabled to elevate ourselves above abasement, and possess ourselves of many of the advantages of religion, intelligence, and property.

We present the curious and acknowledged creditable spectacle of a people bending under the weight of proscription, who will not suffer by comparison with their more privileged fellow-citizens of the same rank, in either religion, virtue, or industry.

Although from the arbitrary distinctions that prevail throughout the community, we have been debarred entirely from collegiate education; although to a considerable extent, we have been excluded from the advantages of the common school system, yet we have been enabled, not only to sustain them among ourselves, but likewise in many instances select schools of our own. A spirit of intelligence pervades our entire people. Keeping

with the progressive spirit of the age, and the continual intellectual progress of the nation, there are but few families in which books are not a common and necessary commodity.

In all parts of the states, from Montauk to Buffalo, literary and debating societies and clubs exist among our people, city, town, and village. In some instances, these societies are adorned and made more useful by libraries and reading rooms. Our schools and associations are continually sending forth a host of youth, with strong determination and purpose of subserving the best and highest interests of their proscribed race; and not an inconsiderable number of the rising hope of our people, have sought in some of the higher institutions of learning, either in this or a foreign land, the privileges of a classical education.

We have scattered, as bright spots all along the states, a number of young men, aspirants for the ministry, preparing for academical instruction; or entering, once in a while, the medical profession, with cultivated minds, and hearts devoted to the interests of men, and the great purposes of truth. The causes that have thrown a damp upon our literary ardour, have operated disadvantageously in our ecclesiastical relations. The prejudice against us in the community, has been more potent than the dictates of christian equality. Not only are we debarred from the rightful exercise of ecclesiastical privileges, but we also meet with indignities and hindrances in the simplest forms of religious communion.

We have often been driven from the quiet and peaceable enjoyment of those rights with which the death of a common Saviour invested us, in common with the rest of our fellow-creatures of the human family. Of necessity, then, have we been often forced to form religious societies of our own. Throughout the state we have upwards of forty independent congregations, of the Presbyterian, Episcopal, Methodist, and Baptist denomination; each with a temple erected to the worship of the Almighty; most with settled pastors, under a regular yearly stipend; in connexion with which there are about 6000 communicants, who, with the respective congregations in attendance on them, average in the aggregate not less than 15,000 of our people, who steadily are under the influence of religion in connexion with our own churches, besides those in attendance elsewhere.

The amount of energy and intellect brought out by these various projects, may be justly regarded as speaking much for the virtue and character of a disfranchised and oppressed people. Aside from this, a large body of our people are in partial communion with the various Christian communities throughout the states. From these sources, streams of religious influence and blessing are in continual flow, refreshing and invigorating our entire body.

An undue and disproportionate development of powers produces unnatural effects. A continual enlargement of certain capacities, to the entire neglect of others, of equal or (it may be) of more importance, produces deformity. In order to develop symmetry of either form or character, a full, general, healthy, and vigorous exercise of all the powers, is absolutely necessary. In bringing forth the character of a people this is clear and manifest. The history of the serfs under the feudal system, the character of the same class in Russia, and the prominent traits of the disfranchised class in all communities at the present day, and especially the condition of enslaved men throughout the universe, give strong verity to the sentiment herein expressed. Human nature is complex in its formation. In proportion as the various powers of man are harmoniously educed, so is the nobleness and vastness of its capacity manifested. Free scope and ample verge given for the exercise of the physical and mental powers to the detriment of the moral, a hideousness of character is evinced. And so, if the moral alone is cultivated to the neglect of the mental and physical, the character is not symmetrical.

In a community man sustains various relations, and possesses powers adapted to them, which, if not permitted a natural and legitimate exercise, are turned upon himself, and followed with augmented and fearful capacity for evil, from the fact of having been diverted from a natural channel. It is thus with the possession or non-possession of the franchise in any state of society. Man is a creature of law—his nature adapted to government and its various functions. He sympathizes with its modes, and forms, and operations; and this from the fact, that there is not a single shade of revolution in the political aspect of a country, but it is felt to the extreme limit of the body politic, operating upon the individual being of all its subjects.

The deprivation of our people of the elective franchise, and a participation in the various rounds of public duty, shows the evil here spoken of. The power that should have been thus employed, have not lain dormant.

A trait which we possess in common with our common humanity has been manifested in us. Powers will have exercise, either healthy or unhealthy. The partial and proscriptive non-suffrage act has been to us hurtful in the extreme.

The powers that should naturally have been thus exercised were wrested from their legitimate employment. It has been the source of evil, unmitigated, unalleviated, without even an approach to an adequate benefit. It is true, we might become possessed of the immunities of citizens and votes by the property qualification. But this spur, this incitement, as it is regarded by some, lost all its zest in the bitter reflection, in the searing conviction, that we were made aliens and strangers in the country of our birth; a disfranchised class in the very land where lie the bones of our fathers—the land whose liberties they helped to achieve by patriotic service, and whose soil is enriched by their purest and noblest blood! But this is not all. When we were deprived of the elective franchise, the blow was given that severed that hold by which respect, deference, and consideration is obtained by the poorest and humblest citizen. Our fellow-citizens saw they had nothing to expect from us; we became a proscribed, depressed class; we felt every where we went, in all our relations, that we had been made separate from the rest of our fellow-citizens.

The pure and refreshing waters of literary excellence were not allowed to flow by us, to quench the burning thirst of an eager and longing people. In the various religious bodies, they have not found their purity of christian feeling powerful and universal enough to treat men aside from arbitrary distinctions, "without respect of persons." In short, the means and facilities, the ways and avenues to wealth and influence, were shut against us. We ask, what might be expected of any people in such circumstances? What might be anticipated as legitimate results from such a condition?

Under like disabilities, we perceive the sufferings of the Irish in Ireland, the degradation of the Greek, the besotted stupidity of the lower caste in India, and the abasement and continual decrease of the aborigines of our

own country. So in this state, under like injustice, the greater amount of crime and suffering among our people have proceeded from a non-participation in the prerogatives of citizenship. Notwithstanding all these difficulties and depressions, calculated as they are to sicken the heart to a great extent, and make the soul give up, we have nevertheless been enabled to live above them.

We have been deprived of the elective franchise during the last twenty years. In a free country this is ever a stimulant to enterprise, a means of influence, and a source of respect. The possession of it sends life, vigour, and energy through the entire heart of a people. The want of it in a community is the cause of carelessness, intellectual inertness, and indolence. Springing above all these depressing circumstances, and exerting ourselves with unwonted alacrity by native industry, by the accumulation of property we have helped to contribute to a considerable extent, not only to the means of the state, but likewise to its character and respectability.

We claim that there is no consideration whatever in existence, on account of which the odious proscription of which we complain should be continued. The want of intelligence, our misfortune and the crime of others, which was once urged against us, does not now exist.

Again. We are the descendants of some of the earliest settlers of the state. We can trace our ancestry back to those who first pierced the almost impenetrable forests, that then lifted their high and stately heads in a silent grandeur to the skies. When the vast and trackless wilderness that had alone answered to the fierce roar of the roaming beast, or the whoop of the wild native, spread itself before the earlier settlers, our fathers were among those who, with sinewy frame and muscular arm, went forth to humble that wilderness in its native pride. Since that time our fathers, and we ourselves, have lent our best strength in cultivating the soil, in developing its vast resources, and contributing to its wealth and importance. Those who are the least acquainted with the history of the state cannot but grant that, in this respect, we have contributed more than our proportionate part. In times when patient toil and hardy industry were demanded, it will thus be seen that we have ever been present and active. Not only so: in times of peril has our aid been called for, and our active services as promptly given. When the country, its interests, its best and most cherished rights and institutions, have been assailed, not unavailingly have we been looked to. When the shrill trumpet call of freedom was heard amid the mountains and the rocks, and along the rivers of the north, and a reverberating reply was heard from the fields and pine forests of the south; when the whole country, aroused by the injustice of British policy, arose as one man for the maintenance of natural and inalienable rights; the dark browed man stood side by side with his fairer fellow-citizen, with firm determination and indomitable spirit. During that memorable conflict, in severe and trying service, did they contend for those principles of liberty set forth in the declaration of independence, which are not of partial or local applicability, but which pertain alike to every being possessed of those high and exalted endowments that distinguish humanity. Their blood is mingled with the soil of every battle field, made glorious by revolutionary reminiscence; and their bones have enriched the most productive lands of the country. In the late war of 1812, our people were again called upon to defend their country. The splendid naval achievements on lakes Erie and Chaplain were owing mostly to the skill and prowess of coloured men. The fame of Perry was gained at the expense of the mangled bodies and bleeding veins of our disfranchised people. Not inconsiderably is it owing to them, that Americans of the present day can recur with pleasurable emotions, and pride of country, to the battle fields of Plattsburg and Sackett's Harbour.

We are Americans. We were born in no foreign clime. Here, where we behold the noble rivers, and the rich fields, and the healthful skies that may be called American; here, amid the institutions that now surround us, we first beheld the light of the impartial sun. We have not been brought up under the influence of other, strange, aristocratic, and ungenial political relations. In this respect, we profess to be American and republican. With the nature, features, and operations of our government we have been familiarized from our youth, its democratic character is accordant with the flow of our feelings and the current of our thoughts. We have thus laid before you, fellow-citizens, some considerations why we should never have been deprived of an equal suffrage, and why a just and impartial guaranty of this right should soon be made. But, bating all these, we lay our claim on still higher ground: we do regard the right of our birthdom, our service in behalf of the country, contributing to its importance, and developing its resources, as favourable considerations—considerations adapted to banish all thought of proscription and injustice from the power-holding body of the country, and to lead them to a hearty and practical acknowledgment of the claims and rights of a disfranchised people.

Yet these alone we do not ask for the extension of the elective franchise. We should not, we do not, predicate any right to it from any such basis. We would not fall into the error of basing rights upon grounds so untenable. We object to others placing our rights upon complexion. We ourselves would not lay claims to consideration on this, or on any similar grounds. We can find no system of moral or political ethics, in which rights are based upon the conformation of the body or the colour of the skin. We can find no nation that has the temerity to insult the common sense of mankind, by promulgating such a sentiment as part of its creed. However individuals or nations may act, however they may assail the rights of man, or wrest from him his liberties, they all, equally and alike, profess regard for natural rights, the protection and security of which they claim as the object of the formation of their respective systems.

Rights have an existence, aside from conventional arrangements or unnatural partialities. They are of higher origin, and of purer birth. They are inferable from the settled and primary sentiments of man's nature. The higher dignities and exalted tendencies of our common humanity, are the original grounds from which they may be deduced. Wherever a being may be found endowed with the light of reason, and the exercise of its various exalted attributes, that being is possessed of certain peculiar rights on the ground of his nature.

We base our claim upon the possession of those common and yet exalted faculties of manhood.

WE ARE MEN. 1. Those sympathies which find their natural channel and legitimate and healthy exercise in civil and political relations, have the same being and nature in us that they have in the rest of the human family.

2. Those yearnings and longings for the exercise of political prerogative that are the product of the adaptedness of man's social nature to political arrangements, strive with irrepressible potency within us, from the fact of our disfranchised condition, a prevalent and unreasonable state of caste, and the operation of laws and statutes, not proceeding from, yet operating upon us.

3. Those indignities and wrongs which naturally become the portion of a disfranchised class, and gather accumulated potency from an increase and intenseness of proscription, naturally and legitimately revert to us. From possessing like sympathies for civil and political operations with others, and like susceptibilities for evil, when nature is hindered in any of its legitimate exercises, on the ground of our common humanity do we claim equal and entire rights with the rest of our fellow-citizens.

All that we say here meets with the full sympathy from all connected with the history of the country, the nature of its institutions, the spirit of its constitution, and the designs and purposes of its great originators. We have no reason to think that the framers of the declaration of independence, in setting forth the doctrines it contains, regarded them as dogmas or idle theories. We believe they put full faith in them, as actual truths and living verities. This they evinced by pledging to each other their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honours. This they manifested by an unswerving opposition to injustice and oppression.

It was in accordance with the views of that great charter of American freedom that they framed the constitution of the country. Setting aside the stale primogenital fallacies of the blood dyed political institutions of the whole world; repudiating the unnatural assumptions of the feudal system, and exploding the aged and destructive sophism of natural inequalities in the family of man: they clung with undying tenacity to the connecting chain that runs through the whole mighty mass of humanity, recognised the common sympathies and wants of the race, and framed a political edifice of such a nature and character, as was congenial with the natural and indestructible principles of man, and was adapted to secure under its broad ægis the purest liberty God ever conferred upon him.

That declaration and the constitution, we think, may be considered as more fully developing the primary ideas of American republicanism than any other document. In these, individuals are regarded distinctly and respectively, each and every one, as men, fully capacitated by the Creator for government and progressive advancement, which capacities, in a natural exercise, are not to be interfered with by government.

Republicanism, in these two documents, has an eye to individual freedom, without lets or hindrances.

In her operations she is impartial. She regards men—all men; and is indifferent to all arbitrary and conventional considerations. This we deem to be the character of the Declaration of Independence; and this, likewise, the character of the constitution after which it was modelled. Republicanism was to be the distinguishing feature in its operations. The constitution of our state, as it sprang from the clear head and pure heart of that imperable patriot, John Jay, in its preamble and several sections, was, in spirit accordant with it. By this we mean, that, although the qualifications for voting, in general, were higher than those prevailing at the present, yet the ground of the suffrage enactment was not based upon national peculiarities or complexional distinctions. It is said that any man possessed of such and such qualifications should be a political denizen of the state.

As the state advanced in age, intelligence, and population, augmented in wealth, and extended in resources, the call went forth for the extension of the franchise right. In accordance with the will of the people thus expressed, a convention was held in the city of Albany in the year 1821-2.

We beg that it may be remembered, that the convention was called for the purpose of extending the suffrage right. We would also call your attention to the fact, that the votes by which many of the delegates were elected to the convention were cast by coloured voters. And more especially would we remind you, that, during the proceedings of that convention, in its reports, addresses, &c., a peculiar deference is ever paid to the republican features of our common country, and its democratic tendencies.

Yet, in that convention, that portion of the citizens of the state whom we here represent were shut out from an equal and common participation in the prerogatives of citizenship, in the operation of both state and national governments, and thus placed under the operation of laws and statutes without our agency, and to which we are subjected without acquiescence.

We, the coloured citizens of the state in convention assembled, representing 50,000 of the population, do ask your earnest attention, your deep reflection, your unbiased and conscientious judgment in this matter. We ask you, as a matter in which you are deeply concerned, to come forward and restore the fountains of political justice in this state to their pristine purity. We ask you to secure to us our political rights. We call upon you to return to the pure faith of your republican fathers. We lift up our voices for the restored spirit of the first days of the republic—for the great principles then maintained, and that regard for man which revered the characteristic features of his nature, as of more honour and worth than the form and colour of the body in which they dwell. For no vested rights, for no peculiar privileges, for no extraordinary prerogatives, do we ask. We merely put forth our appeal for a republican birthright. We wish to be something more than political serfs and slaves. We fully believe in the fundamental doctrines set forth in the declaration of independence. We acquiesce in the sentiment that "governments derive their just power from the consent of the governed;" and we say it is injustice of the most aggravated character, either to deprive us of a just and legitimate participation in the rights of the state, or to make us bear the burdens and submit to its enactments, when all its arrangements, plans, and purposes, are framed and put into operation utterly regardless of us, in their incipient state, as if we were nonentities; but which, in their practical operation, act upon us with destructive tendency, eat away our soul, and destroy our life. We ask for a living manifestation of belief in the above doctrine; we know already too much of its dead letter.

Fellow Citizens! the coloured citizens of this state, through us their representatives, respectfully and earnestly ask at your hands the speedy adoption of such plans, and the formation of such measures, as may soon lead to the erasure of the odious proscriptive act of which we complain—we secured an equal suffrage, and the state freed from a stain upon its character.

(Signed) A. STEWARD, President.
C. L. REASON,
H. H. GARNET, } Secretaries.
W. H. TOPP, }

SLAVERY IN BRITISH INDIA.

(Continued from page 136.)

CEYLON.

The Census of 1837 gives the number of slaves in Ceylon as follows, viz.

Western Provinces, Males	373	Females	332
Southern ditto.	431	ditto	342
Eastern ditto.	12	ditto	11
Northern ditto.	12,605	ditto	11,910
Central ditto	687	ditto	694
Kandyan ditto			

Males . 14,108 Females . 13,289
Females . 13,289

Total . 27,397

It appears, however, that the above statement is not strictly accurate. In the eastern provinces there does not appear to be any return kept in the "Seven Korles division," and in the Kandyan provinces the number returned in 1824, was, males 1,443, females 1456=2,899, and in 1829, males 1,067, females 1,046=2113.

We have reason to believe, on the best authority, that the number is much greater in Kandy, 6000 being the least that can be reckoned, but 12,000, probably, being nearer the mark. It is also computed that the entire number of slaves in Ceylon is about 37,000!

We now draw attention to the incidents of slavery in Ceylon.

Employments of slaves:—"The Covia, Nallua, and Palla slaves are generally employed in cultivating the lands, tending cattle, and collecting produce from trees. The Covias alone are used as domestic slaves" (Ibid. p. 594). They are the absolute property of their owners: "Slaves are all personal property; none are attached to the soil, but can be disposed of in any way the proprietors may think proper" (Ibid. p. 608). The punishments inflicted on them: "By the laws and customs of the country, a master has the power of punishing his slaves in any way short of maiming or death. The punishments usually inflicted are flogging, confining in stocks or irons, cutting off their hair, and, when very refractory, selling them" (Ibid. p. 608). They may be separated:—"Slaves are seldom sold or families separated; but, when given as a marriage portion, or on the demise of a proprietor, in common with the rest of the deceased's property, they are distributed among his heirs." (Ibid. 608.)

How obtained:—"Some are descendants of native Kandyans, others of slaves brought from India, others by purchase of children during famines, and others by seizing free persons in satisfaction of pecuniary claims." And others by importation, according to Mr. Jeremie (Ibid. 608). (Vide Sawyer's Law of slavery in the Kandyan provinces, a high authority.) **Value of slaves:**—"The rates at which slaves were valued have been established from time immemorial, viz. for a male, without reference to his age, fifty riddies, or £1 13s. 4d.; for a female, without reference to the age, 100 riddies, or £3 6s. 8d." (Sawyer's laws of Kandy.)

The whole of Mr. Sawyer's observations should be read. On the subject of privation and punishment he says, "A master may drive out his slave, and, while his slave is in absolute destitution, he may abandon him to starvation." And again, "short of the deprivation of life or limb, the master has the power to punish his slave, and could put him to torture with the red hot iron!"

In addition to the information respecting slavery in Ceylon, drawn from the Parliamentary papers, No. 138, 1839, we make the following extract from a despatch of Lord Glenelg's, dated 24th of November, 1838: "I am induced to believe that slavery might be speedily extinguished in Ceylon, with little risk or difficulty. It is, indeed, alleged to be merely nominal, a circumstance which must greatly facilitate its extinction. . . . I am therefore anxious," adds his lordship, "that measures should be immediately taken for effecting the entire abolition at the earliest practicable period." . . . And again his lordship says, "I am unwilling to impose upon you specific instructions, an adherence to which might, in your judgment, be injurious to the public interests; but I have thought it right to convey to you my deliberate opinion, that slavery may be safely terminated more rapidly than by the existing process of gradual manumission." The governor, J. A. S. Mackenzie, Esq. is, therefore, called upon to transmit to his lordship, "as soon as possible, a full and detailed report on the actual state of slavery in every part of the island, containing, of course, an account of the number of slaves now remaining in the island, and of their owners; and a statement of the nature of the occupations and employments of the slaves, and any other particulars relative to the subject which may be material to a just and complete consideration of it." (Par. Pap., No. 467, 1839.)

The abolition of slavery is necessary, not only on general grounds, but because the cultivation of sugar and coffee has been introduced into Ceylon, and is likely to be very greatly extended. From a letter dated April 12th, 1837, we make the following extract: "The report that sugar planters intend settling here is confirmed. Two from the Mauritius, aided by Indian capital, have sent funds, and are clearing lands, so THERE IS NO TIME TO BE LOST." Subsequent accounts add that additional numbers have resorted to the island for the same purpose; and that the cultivation of coffee is rapidly extending over the whole island.

SLAVERY IN MALACCA.

On the 6th December, 1819, the anniversary of the birth-day of the king of the Netherlands, Governor Thyssen proposed to the inhabitants of Malacca holding slaves, to declare that all children, the offspring of such slaves, should from that day be born free. About seventy slaveholders voluntarily signed a declaration to that effect. (Par. Pap. 138, 1839, p. 248.)

On the 9th April, 1825, Malacca was transferred to the English government, when Mr. Lewis, Assistant-Resident, states there were 1359 slaves of various descriptions in the island (Ibid. p. 252).

In 1826, the census of the slave population gave its numbers 1097. The census of 1827 raised the number to 1519! on which Mr. Garling, the resident councillor, observed, "The nefarious importation of slaves has not been put down," and adds, "It cannot be put down, unless the police department be more vigilant and more interested in the measure" (Ibid. p. 254.)

In reference to the alleged treatment of the slaves, the same gentle-

man observes, "I should be happy if the police could prevent all barbarities. As far as complaints are made by slaves I should hope that this department would extend redress; but, unless the purities of the bazar and domestic prisons could be inspected, the department cannot, however well-disposed and vigilant we desire to esteem it, prevent many barbarities. As to the real truth, that these people have been treated more as children than slaves, I must close my mind against ocular conviction before I acknowledge the justness of so general an assumption." (Ibid. p. 255). And in another place, he says, "that the subscribers to the slave petition should speak of the 'comforts' which the slaves forfeit by seeking their liberty, and should declare that these people have been treated more as children than slaves, is not surprising—they speak of themselves! Before I can subscribe to such an opinion, I must cast from my mind the remembrance of the cries which I have heard, and the mental degradation, the rags, the wretchedness, the bruises, the contused eyes and burns which I have witnessed; I must blot out adultery from the calendar of vices; I must disbelieve the numerous proofs which I have had of obstacles opposed to regular marriages, and the general humiliation of females. I must put away every idea of the modes of punishment of which eye-witnesses have given me account, and the short jacket must no longer be deemed a badge of slavery" (Ibid. p. 270.) In addition to the domestic discipline to which slaves were subject, we find such punishments as the following ordered by the police magistrate: "Chimpu, twelve lashes with the rattan, and to work on the roads in irons for a period of six weeks; thereafter to be placed at his master's disposal;" offence, false accusation (Ibid. p. 292). "Si Surra, one dozen stripes of a rattan, and to be worked in irons on the public road for one month;" offence, impertinence and idleness (Ibid. p. 293). "Tom, sentenced to receive three dozen lashes, and to work on the public roads in irons for six months;" offence, absconding (Ibid. p. 294). Salip, slave boy, "to receive eighteen lashes of a rattan;" offence, running away (Ibid. p. 226). "Tulip, being a notorious bad character, and not having yet the wounds healed of the punishment inflicted on him on Monday last, is sentenced to be flogged on the posterior with eighteen lashes of a rattan;" offence, stealing from his brother (Ibid. p. 297). Toby "is directed to be punished with one and a half dozen lashes;" offence, insolence (Ibid. p. 297). These extracts will sufficiently illustrate the severity of the slave system in Malacca.

On the 13th of November, 1829, the governor, in council, addressed certain of the principal inhabitants, and recommended them to terminate the "unwilling and forced labour of the slaves" by a system of gradual emancipation (Ibid. p. 260); and the result is given in the following memorandum.

"Pursuant to the wishes of the honourable the governor, a meeting of the inhabitants was convened on Wednesday, the 18th of November, to take into consideration the best mode for abolishing slavery in this settlement.

"Mr. Lewis having been requested to take the chair, the letter received from the secretary to government was read; and after discussing the matter therein alluded to, viz. the speedier termination of the state of slavery in name and substance than can be expected to arise from the gradual demise of the persons now in the list, the following resolutions were made:—

"That it is highly desirable that means be taken to put an end to slavery.

"That it appears that domestic works have been always executed by slaves; that all the respectable inhabitants are dependent on this mode of service, and that therefore, the abolition cannot be immediately effected; therefore it is resolved, that the several classes of natives be invited to name some definite and as short a period as may be practicable for completing this desirable measure.

"That the Portuguese, Chinese, Malays, and Chooliats, do severally agree amongst their own tribes to name the period, and that they do depute five persons from each class to meet the gentlemen of the settlement on Wednesday next the 25th instant, to make known their sentiments.

(Signed) "W. T. LEWIS."

"Wednesday, 25th of November, 1829." (Ibid. p. 235).

The meeting thus summoned being but thinly attended on account of the badness of the weather, it was resolved that it be adjourned to Saturday the 28th instant, when it re-assembled pursuant to the resolution; the deputation of natives being present, viz., five persons on behalf of the Portuguese, five persons on behalf of the Chinese, five persons on behalf of the Malays, and five persons on behalf of the Chooliats.

The sense of the meeting is taken, and twelve years fixed for the emancipation of the slaves borne on the register books of this settlement.

It is therefore resolved, that Mr. Lewis, in the name and behalf of the inhabitants of Malacca, do convey to the honourable the governor, their acknowledgment of his Excellency's regard for their interests, as shown by redressing the grievances of the inhabitants complained of in their petition.

That the inhabitants are sensible that the decision of the judges in the case now to be referred will be consonant to the law of England, and the legislative acts regarding slavery, by which they, as British subjects, are bound both by inclination and duty to abide; but

That, pending such reference, and to prove to his Excellency the governor, and the world in general, that their motives have been guided by a sense of humanity, they hereby record their assent,

That slavery shall not be recognized in the town and territory of Malacca, after the 31st of December, one thousand eight hundred and forty-one. (1841.)

The board, in adverting to the measures reported in Mr. Lewis's communication, records its entire approval thereof pending the reference to higher authority, and directs that copies of the letter and proceedings do form an enclosure in the despatch to the honourable court of directors now under preparation (Ibid. p. 236). No government regulations, that we can find, were ever passed to give legal effect to the above decision of the residents at Malacca.

Previously, however, to this period, the resident councillor, Mr. Garling in a minute dated 28th of October, 1829, had stated it as his "firm belief that local slavery had no legal existence," and adds, that, having referred the subject to the government so far back as the 24th of December, 1828, the acting deputy secretary in his answer, dated the 9th of January following, corroborates his opinion. Mr. G. observes:—"The sentiments of the

honourable board, as conveyed in that letter, are precisely such as I have all along entertained, and such as I am of opinion may be substantiated on the most unquestionable grounds, viz. *The government is decidedly of opinion that slavery has not, in any shape, a legal existence in Malacca.* No provisions whatever are made for its continuance by the treaty of transfer; and it is not, as in the West Indies, recognized by act of parliament, or by any law made under sanction of the legislature (*Ibid.* p. 241).

A difference of opinion upon the foregoing point having existed, however, between Mr. Garling and president Fullerton, the question was referred by them to the governor general, Lord William Bentinck, on the 26th of November, 1829, and by him it appears was referred home, for we find in Par. Pap. 1830, p. 36, the following communications from the government to the East India Company upon it.

India Board, 12th of January, 1831.

SIR,—I am directed by the commissioners for the affairs of India to acquaint you, that the board consider it may be highly desirable that the opinion of the law officers of the Crown and of the East India Company's counsel should be taken, as soon as possible, on the question of the legality of slavery at Malacca, which has been brought to the notice of the authorities in England by the letter from the supreme government, dated 16th of June last. The board have therefore desired me to request that the company's solicitor may be put in communication with the solicitor to this board, and that, when a case has been prepared by them, it may be transmitted to this office previously to its being submitted to counsel. I am, &c.,

(Signed)

SANDON.

PETER AUBER, Esq., &c., &c., &c.

No answer having been given to this communication, another was forwarded, of which the following is a copy:—

India Board, 19th of June, 1831.

SIR,—The commissioners for the affairs of India having received no communication from the court of directors, in consequence of the letter which Viscount Sandon addressed to you on the 12th of January last, respecting the legality of slavery at Malacca, have directed me to request that you will call the court's attention to the subject, and move them to cause the draft of a case, for submission to the law officers of the crown and East India Company, to the board without delay. I am, &c.,

(Signed)

HYDE VILLIERS.

PETER AUBER, Esq.

No notice appears to have been taken of this either; and here the question was suffered to rest, as we have no further reference to it in any of the official documents.

It is worthy of inquiry, What is now the actual condition of the slaves in Malacca? and whether the government has ordered the necessary steps to be taken for their *bona fide* enfranchisement this year?

Note.—For further information on the subject of slavery in Malacca, consult Par. Pap. 138, 1839, pp. 241 to 306 inclusive.

Literary Notice.

Slavery in America shewn to be peculiarly abominable, both as a political anomaly, and an outrage on Christianity. By William Day, formerly editor of the *Christian's Friend and Jersey Argus*. London: 1841.

This accurate, judicious, and spirited publication deserves to be extensively patronized. In the compass of eighty-four duodecimo pages, it exhibits a compact and vigorously executed view of the painful subject to which it relates, and is thus adapted to diffuse correct and important information upon it among that numerous class of persons, to whom large books and much reading are either unwelcome or impracticable. The author is a valuable coadjutor in the great work of abolition, and is entitled to thanks for his zealous and useful labours. We hope a book of so small a bulk and price will be taken up for extensive circulation by abolitionists in general. We give the following extract.

There is another anomaly in the political institutions of the United States, which, as it results from the iniquitous system of slavery, may properly be noticed here. This is what Dr. Morison has correctly designated "a system of *caste*, so utterly tyrannical as to render the emancipation of Africans in America, even in those states which have abandoned slavery, a comparatively worthless boon."

To detail the various schemes and laws by which these unoffending men are harassed and persecuted, and the systematic plans and local enactments for degrading and retaining them in ignorance, would far exceed the limits assigned to this chapter. Let it suffice, therefore, to give a summary of their cruel wrongs, and social and political grievances, which I shall draw from the publications of Judge Jay, J. G. Birney, Esq., and the *New York Anti-Slavery Examiner*, all American witnesses of high character and first-rate respectability.

To political and civil rights, in their comprehensive sense, they are utter strangers. Though there exists no enactment to disfranchise them, they are not suffered to approach the ballot-box; neither will white men, generally speaking, teach them trades, sit with them in public places, or ride with them in public conveyances. Nay, to such a height is this contemptible prejudice carried, that, in nearly all the places of worship, in the free as well as in the slave states, there is a particular pew set apart for negro accommodation! Those not merely black, but those also who have the slightest tint of the loathed colour, are scrupulously consigned to this condemned cell, as if contamination were in their touch, and in their breath pollution! They are commonly denominated "greater nuisances than even slaves themselves," "a vile excrescence upon society," "a curse and contagion wherever they reside," "an anomalous race of beings, the most depraved upon earth," and "notoriously ignorant, degraded, and miserable."

If these poor, persecuted, but generally amiable, people are not what they are here described to be, it is certainly not the fault of their persecutors, who strain every nerve to render them vicious, debased, and wretched. Lest they should raise themselves by mental improvement, to that state of respectability of which they are capable under proper instruction, their education is almost universally discouraged, and many of the states have passed laws to inflict penalties on "any person who teaches a free negro to read or write." These penalties vary from fine,

whipping, imprisonment, and death! Yes, startling as is the fact, we have it on record, that "In Louisiana, the penalty for instructing a free black in a Sunday-school, is, for the first offence, five hundred dollars; for the second offence, DEATH!" This almost incredible sentence is given in the very words of Judge Jay, in his "Slavery in America," (p. 17,) a work to which those who desire a full and faithful account of the infamous laws and disgraceful prejudices against these nominally free citizens would do well to refer. In the "Proceedings of the New York Colonial Society," it is confessed to be "the business of the free—THEIR SAFETY REQUIRES IT—to keep the blacks in ignorance." These tyrannical republicans can rest satisfied with nothing short of unqualified subjection; and, as the surest means of gaining for themselves the desired pre-eminence, they seek to perpetuate the intellectual and moral degradation of their victims. They well know that this must be effected, before the natural love of liberty, and the consequent desire to defend it, can be totally extinguished within them. For "surely oppression maketh a wise man mad!" (Eccles. vii. 7.)

Thus, the coloured population of the United States are systematically deprived of every equitable right that appertains to civil and social life; and the partial and anomalous administration is carried out in every conceivable manner, to the most pernicious extreme. Indeed, the unhappy nominally-free men of colour are never absolutely secure of their personal liberty. They are constantly exposed to seizure by the brutal kidnapper, and liable to be sold to labour in the south. The Rev. Dr. Price thus speaks of this most infamous state of things:

"One of the most revolting features in American society is the insecurity of life and liberty amongst the FREE PERSONS OF COLOUR, in the northern as well as the southern states. No free black is safe, even in the city of New York, without his parchment certificate about his body, at all times, and in all places. A set of miscreants are constantly prowling about, who, under colour of searching for run-away slaves, kidnap those who never were slaves, and hurry them off into interminable bondage! The papers published by the friends of the negro abound with cases of oppression and cruelty of this kind. The laws passed for the protection of such persons, are too feeble against that universal prejudice which is inherited by almost the entire population; so that a case of wrong which, in England, would ring from one end of the land to the other, is but slightly regarded in America, however deep the interests that are involved!"

Confirmation of this horrible fact is given by Mr. Bourne, in his "Picture of Slavery," a short extract from which may not be thought unnecessary:

"Nothing is more common than for two white kidnappers to demand the certificate of a black freeman, tear it in pieces, or secrete it, tie him to one of their horses, hurry to some jail, while one whips the citizen along as fast as their horses can travel. There, by an understanding with the jailer, who shares in the spoil, all possibility of intercourse with his friends is cut off. At the earliest possible period the captive is sold to pay the felonious claims of the law, bought through jugglery by this trio of men-stealers, and then transferred to some of their accomplices in iniquity, who fill every part of the southern states with fraud, rapine, and blood!"

Thus the term equality, so pompously preached, and often most absurdly practised, amongst the white citizens, loses its true signification when the sable race are concerned; and thus it becomes a bye-word and a reproach, to designate the intrinsic baseness of American polity! This baseness will appear the more glaring, when it is considered that, by the "Thirteen Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union between the States," it is provided,

"That the free inhabitants of any of the states shall be entitled to the privileges and immunities of free citizens in any other state."

Here is a virtual stipulation for the protection of all free men, of whatever complexion, in the full enjoyment of those rights belonging to free men in a free country. In this clause not the slightest hint is dropped, whereby advantage could reasonably be taken for one man to oppress another. The contract is clear and straightforward. Indeed, all doubt must have been removed from the subject, by an attempt to alter the clause to the exclusion of the negro. This attempt is noticed by Judge Jay. "While these articles," says he, "were under consideration in congress, it appears from the journals, that, on the 25th of June, 1778, the delegates from South Carolina moved the following amendment *in behalf of their state*: In article fourth, between the words *free inhabitants*, insert *WHITE*. Passed in the negative,—ayes, two states; nays, eight states; one state divided." "Here, then," adds that benevolent Judge, "was a solemn decision of the revolutionary congress, that free negroes should be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of free citizens in the several states."

After so clear an exposition of American law by one of their own justices, is it not a monstrous anomaly in politics, that the American white people are permitted to perpetuate the most execrable despotism over their coloured fellow-citizens? Is it not humiliating to every good man to behold how bad men are not only allowed, but encouraged, to contaminate the moral character of their country, and to destroy the equity of its civil code, by transfixing it with the poisoned shaft of partiality? Is not the pernicious wrong so palpable, that its denial or doubt must be deemed rather the affectation of the heartless tyrant, than a possible state of mind for an inquirer after truth?—pp. 32—38.

PORTUGAL.—In the sitting of the 19th June, in the chamber of deputies, M. Jose Estavao, addressing the minister of marine, said he had been informed that the governors of the Portuguese African settlements openly connived at the slave-trade, and that in so flagrant a manner, that, in order to facilitate the departure of slave laden vessels, they were in the habit of ordering ships of war on idle errands in a different direction; and requested that measures should be taken to put an end to the evil. The minister promised in reply, that the subject should be strictly inquired into, and the necessary steps taken accordingly.

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